Nonetheless, elite Santal were somewhat more Hinduized
177 than their poorer fellows. Some managed to attract a coterie
556 of high-caste but often impoverished Hindus. One hears of wealthy Santal who spent considerable sums on such associates during trips to and attendance at Hindu festivals. Some who
177 were village headmen or Parganaths (multi-village headmen)
556 established enduring relations with the Mahārājā or local
622 zemindar of their region. These Santal often were given respon-
648 sibility for tax collection, in return for which they kept a portion and received grants of land.

177 The Santal have long followed the practice of establishing
608 among themselves, and with other castes, permanent bonds of
648 a kinship type, which are given public recognition in a "flower" (*phul*; Santali and Hindi =flower) ceremony. In some instances an elite family managed to establish such a tie with a Brahman family while ordinary Santal contracted such relations only with other tribals or Hindus of very low caste. *This contact contrib-*
[192] *uted to differential emulation of Hindu practices.* Some of the
[583] traditional elite among the southern Santal abandoned beef-eating and cow sacrifice; some affected the dress of high-caste Hindus; a few demanded an end to "capture marriage" (*itut' bapla*) because they did not wish to have close relations with unwealthy families of low status. Though their success in getting the non-elite to follow their Hinduized practices was limited, a certain degree of culture difference was established, to the detriment of solidarity.

177 However, as the historical evidence indicates and as any contemporary observer could infer, contact with Hindu society has been long and/or intensive, and that portion of Santal culture shared by all Santal is so marked with Hindu traits that it
[759] would be a monumental task to indicate all of them. All Santal call on neighboring Hindus of low caste to deliver babies.